

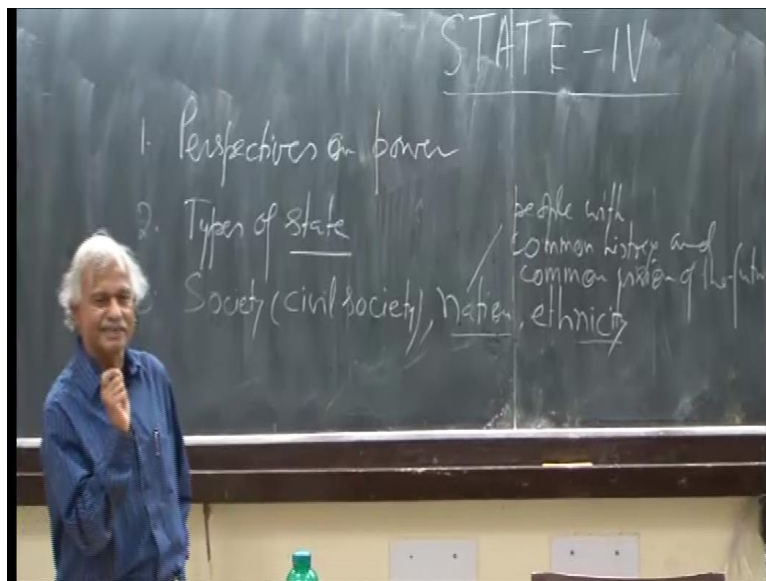
Introductory Sociology
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Lecture - 10

State IV: Functionalist and Marxist perspectives on power

So, power and state. I think, after this, you can read the chapter on State, in P Gisberts book and you will be able to understand everything that he says. In any text book of sociology, we will find lots of names, may be hundreds of names; do not bother much about names; just focus on ideas; except these four, five important names of sociologists, you need not learn by rote, names of all those sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and diversities; just focus on ideas.

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Now, in this lecture, I will do three things. One, discuss perspectives on power; this is something not given in Gisberts book. So, you may not find any discussion of perspectives on power. For this, you have to be attentive in the class, or read some other books. Second thing I will do, I will just indicate, not go into details, but indicate the types of state. And third, make a distinction between related terms like society, or sometimes called civil society, nation and ethnicity.

In the last lecture, I made a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate power. I said that, power exercised by state is considered to be legitimate, by most people. Power

exercised by others, often in opposition to the state, is considered to be illegitimate, which means that, truly speaking, or scientifically speaking, or speaking from nowhere or no perspective, there is no legitimacy or illegitimacy. Power is legitimate or illegitimate, because it is considered to be so. It is not legitimacy or illegitimacy; it is social; it does not come from God's perspective, or from outsider's perspective. And, if there is a conflict in society, conflict between groups, associations, different sets of institutions, which are part of the state, these terms may become vacuous.

During the British period, the power exercised by the Congress Party, sometime, there was a part of Congress Party called Hot Waxen, Garam Dhal, or there were people like Subash Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekara Raja who use power, power of gun, arms, bomb, firearms, bullets. So, this power was illegitimate from the perspective of British state. But this power was legitimate from the perspective of freedom fighters and also from the perspective of many ordinary citizens, who believed in the ideology or dreams of the freedom fighters. So, the difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy is not scientific, or objective, or from God's perspective, or from other's perspective; it is from the perspective of society.

The state will always say that Maoists are wrong; that naxalites are wrong; that successionists are wrong; those who talk of independence of Kashmir are wrong. From the state's perspective, they are wrong. They are illegitimate. Their interest and their use of power is illegitimate. But during the British period, and after independence, after independence, we called them freedom fighters. We called them swatantra sangram ke senani, and the Britishers called them vidrohi, or those who worked against the interest of the state. So, their power was illegitimate from that perspective. So, it is all from perspectives, from which perspective we are looking at. The power of the state of West Bengal, in the forests of West Bengal, that they exercise against the tribal Marxist, Leninist, or naxalites is legitimate. From the perspective of the villagers, or tribals, or naxalites, it is illegitimate. So, it depends on the perspective. There is nothing, we independently, we are not part of that society, then independently, we cannot say what is legitimate, what is illegitimate; it all depends on the social positions. So, we will talk about perspectives on power.

But because this is a simpler matter, let me begin from here, society; society and society plus something becomes the state; that something is monopoly, or violence, or

distribution of power, political power. So, when you talk of civil society, you talk of people outside the state system. This word civil society, you must have heard more frequently in the context of the movement, anti-corruption movement by Anna Hazare, or Swami Ram Dev. The power of Anna Hazare and his group, Anna's power and the power of his group, the power of Ram Dev, Pathanjali yoga ashram and supporters of them, that is the power of civil society. If teachers, intellectuals, journalists, editors or ordinary people, or media persons, oppose government policy, then we say that, there is a conflict between civil society and state.

Long back, there is a long tradition in sociology, political science, to distinguish between a state which has monopoly over power and the rest of society; that rest of society is civil society. NGOs, non government organizations, action groups, religion; religion is part of civil society. So, sometimes religious people, saints, religious leaders of one religion, or several religions, may come together to oppose some state policy; that is civil society versus state.

The term nation is a different term; state and nation are not same. The term nation is used for a group of people with common history and a common vision of the future. We feeling; we belong to a group; people with a common history, that we, we have a common history, and we have a common vision of the future; that is called nation. When I was not exposed to sociology literature, and I used to read mostly in magazines and literature prepared by communist party Marxists; at one time, I followed the literature of communist party Marxists thoroughly; I used to wonder, why do communists say that, in India, there are so many nations, because in my childhood, I identified nation with the state; I thought that, we all belong to the same nation and that is India.

So, when first time, while reading some magazines like Swateentha, Swateentha was one magazine published by communist party Marxists. I used to read that, India is a country of several nations. I was confused; what is this? I thought, sometime, I would, I would even developed a feeling that communists are anti-national, because for me, there was only one nation, India and all of us are part of Indian nation. But the meaning, when I understood this, and more after becoming a sociologist, I learnt that, in any territory, state means Sovereign, sovereignty, monopoly, and a territory; within a territory, in which there is one state, there may be several groups, on the basis of language, culture, religion, or any other basis; there is a we feeling among them. In our county, clans, sub-

clans, gothras, castes, communities, Indians are divided along so many lines; Dravidians, North Indians, Aryans, non-Aryans, indigenous population.

Now, to use the term nation in sociological sense, we can use this term for all these groups. So, Dravidians are a nation; Hindi speaking people constitute another nation; Hindus may think that, they are one nation; the philosophy of Hinduthva given by Golwalkarji, Veer Savarkar, RSS tradition, Mukherjee; there is a feeling that Hindus are different from others and this state must be based on the principle of Hindu Rashtra. They are one nation. Now, Muslims may think that, Muslims have nothing in common with Hindus; that was the cause of separation, a partition of the country into two parts; because Muslims have nothing in common with Hindus. Their philosophy, their cosmology, their ethics, their laws or jurisprudence, their history, their future, their vision of the future, their destiny are different from those of Hindus likewise, Christians may think so.

At one time, Jews, all over the world believed in a, and they still believe in a common history and a common future, till the Israel was formed. And, Jews believed in a common history and a common future; they are a nation. So, in India, there is one state in India which comprises of armed forces, judiciary, bureaucracy, civil servants and elected representatives; that is Indian state, but within Indian state, or in the Indian territory, there are so many nations. And, when there are conflicts between the nations, then the state has to develop a framework. We have a framework of constitution; whenever there is a conflict, conflict on Babri Mosque, or conflict on language, or conflict on territory, whether some district should belong to Maharashtra, or to Karnataka, on the basis of language, or that Bhojpuri is a separate language from Hindi, or should Sindi be given the status of a national language; when such issues arise, the Indian state in the frame work of Indian constitution must solve them. These are other conflicts of different nations in India.

So, the term nation is used for a group of people. Again, I would keep on repeating this issue in each class; then when I say something which looks like a sentence containing verbs like is, are, or continuous term; actually, that only means, as understood by society from certain perspective. So, when I say that, these are, nations are people with, which have a common history, there have means belief; that they believe; they believe that they have a common history and a common future. Beliefs can change; beliefs can be

engineered; beliefs can weaken and beliefs can get strengthened. They are beliefs. If I believe, if I believe, that Hindus are a different nation, this is a belief; this is not a scientific fact. This may not be a scientific fact. If Muslims of India think that, they are a different nation, it is not a scientific fact; but they believe, and because they believe, so, they are a different nation. If the Dravidians think, that they are a different nation, they believe, and therefore, they are a different nation. With change of time, with change in socio-political milieus, with economic changes, changes in World history, these beliefs may also get transformed.

There are many beliefs which existed 500 years ago and have no presence today. And similarly, there are beliefs which did not have presence 500 years ago, but they have a strong presence today. So, beliefs can change. Accordingly, the definitions of nations can change. But this is a fact that, Indian society, or Indian polity, or Indian state consists of several nations and Indian state has to resolve therefore, conflicts which will often arise between interests of different nations. India has several nations.

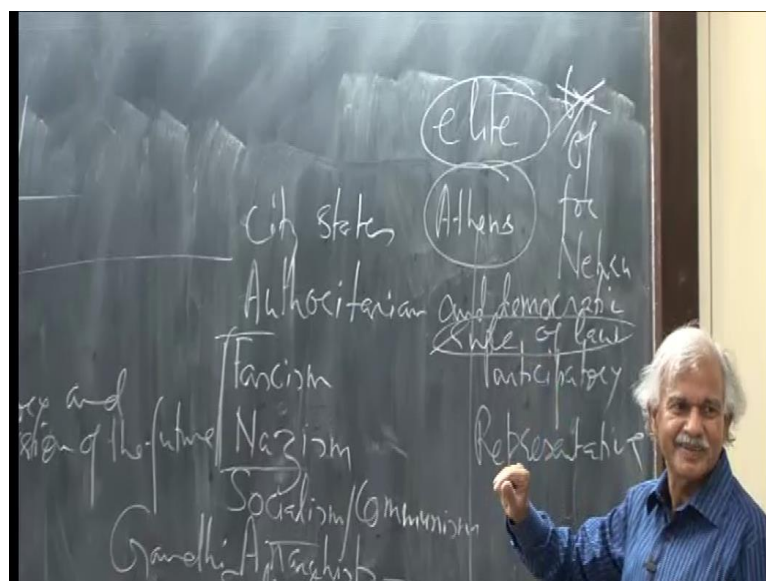
Now, ethnicity. Ethnicity means, people belonging to, again belief, belief that, they belong to some territory outside the state. Again, the idea of a common pass. In United States, you have people who have gone from all parts of the world, and they remember; they remember, they are Asian origin, African origin, whether they are Hispanic, they are European, they are French, they are German; there is a belief that they came from some other part of the world. Now this sense, people carrying this sense, that they have, together, come from somewhere else; Sri Lankan Tamil, Sri Lankan Buddhist, both of them, most of them have gone from the other part of Asia; most of them from India.

These are two ethnic groups, but they believed that, they are the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka. But they still maintain a separacy; they are two ethnic groups there. Mohajirs in Pakistan; Mohajirs in Pakistan, a very powerful, political group; Mohajirs constitute one ethnic category, because Mohajirs believe that, they had gone to Pakistan from India. Sometime, a nation may be divided; there are all kinds of combinations and permutations. Sometimes, nations are divided into two or more states; sometimes, one state has several nations, like Bengalis; Bengalis constitute one nation. Their history, language, food habits, dress, mannerisms, many things are common. But today, the Bengali nation, Bengali nationality, or Bengali nation is divided into two states, East Bengal, West Bengal; Bangladesh and West Bengal.

So, there is one nation and because of this national association, the people of Bangladesh found more affinity with Bengalis of India, rather than with Urdu speaking Muslims of today's Pakistan; and, that led to separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan. So, in a freaker, there are so many, by accident of history, in the same country, you have people belonging to different tribes, their nations, and they often engage in violent conflict; very violent conflict; hundreds of people die, when such inter-tribal violent clashes occur. And, the same tribe is found in different states, in different countries. So, nation is this, common history and common future, and ethnicity, ethnicity is also kind of nationality, but in ethnicity, a feeling that they are from somewhere else, an aerial kind of origin is involved.

So, Sindhis in India today, constitute an ethnic group, because most of them have come to India after the partition of the country, and they believed that, at one time, they lived the Sindh, which is part of Pakistan today. They have become an ethnic group here. So, there are terms like state, society, civil society, nation, ethnicity. They are used with some minute, some subtle difference in the idea that they carry. Now, the type of the state, I am sure that all of you have heard about these types of states. A state can, in ancient society, there was no state. When you read Gisbert, there is a long discussion of how traditional society, or ancient society, ran itself. There was no power. Power was collective; power belonged to the whole clan, or sub-clan, whole tribe, whole wandering group, food gathering, hunting group; there were no state as such; state-less society.

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Then you have city states, a small cities, plus a small population at the periphery, sometime, constituting a state. The most known of all the city states is Athens in Greek literature. This was a city state. Singapore today, Taiwan, Taiwan is a city state; Singapore is a city state. In Singapore, you have Singapore and nothing else. Singapore, and the state of Singapore is, can be called a city state.

Likewise, Taiwan. Taiwan is also a city, largely a city state. If Delhi was an independent, today's union territory Delhi, if union territory of Delhi was an independent state, it would be a city state. And for people belonging to Kanpur, if they want to go to Delhi, they would require visa. But Delhi is not a city state, because Delhi is part of India, and you, people belonging to other parts of India, do not require visa and passport to enter Delhi. But when we talk of states, some people talk of authoritarian and democratic state. In authoritarian state, you have fascism. For elaborate discussion of this, you must read Gisbert. I am only enumerating them; I am just saying a few you things about them; Nazism, fascism, socialism, communism, communist, fascist state, authoritarian state.

In authoritarian states, you have fascist states, Nazis, socialists, communists, anarchists, syndicalists; several categories of this type. Democracy, democracy can be participatory, or representative. One thing which is common to Fascism and Nazism, is the idea of nationalism, sometime, idea of racism, a very strong ideology, use of violence by state, not allowing other associations and social groups to wield power, strong control of media, intellectuals, philosophers, writers, that means, absence of freedom of thoughts, expression; this is what it means; a strong leader, ideology; Mussolini, or Hitler, nationalism, fighting for the interest of Germany, or Aryans; a strong belief that Hitler was fighting in the interest of the Aryan race.

And, intellectuals, universities, media, journalists, social groups, voluntary groups, religion even had absolutely no say in running of the state. They could not ever think of opposing the state policies. They are silenced. All other groups, associations in society are silenced. Fascist, communist parties in India often use the term fascist for BJP; RSS, BJP, that they are fascist; and they are fascist at least in one stance that, they are believe in the strong ideology of Hinduthva, nationalism, some kind of patriotism; they will not give freedom to express any other thought which goes against the basic philosophy of Hinduthva. They will suppress the democratic rights of dissenters, like Kashmir, North

East, wherever people go against the state, they will say that, these people are going against the interest of Hinduthva; a strong Hindu Rashtra, limited freedom to minority.

But, I am, please do not misunderstand me; from time to time, I may be making some statement, which can be provocative, if they are made in public, outside IIT. My purpose is only to illustrate; I am not saying, A K Sharma is not saying that BJP is fascist; I am saying that, when communist party says that BJP is fascist, then they use the term fascism in this sense, ok; nationalism, ideology, lack of freedom of thought and expression. Socialism is that state, which promotes the interest of the working classes, or proletariats. And, communists are those who work according to communist manifesto, original communist manifesto of Karl Marx and Fredrik Engel. Communists are those, who work in the common interest of the proletariat of the world.

Those parties, those groups which work in the common interest of all the proletariats, the working classes of the world, not of Russia alone, not of India alone, they are the communists. They are trying to, first form a socialist government, which will work in the interest of the proletariats and gradually, create condition for destroying the state itself, for itself, for destroying itself, and creating a condition of development of a state-less society, in which there will be no government, no power; all will be equal, equally powerful; all will contribute to society according to their ability, and take form society, according to their needs; no government; no regime; no, everything equal; no class, no government. Anarchists, anarchists believe in individual, moral, spiritual freedom and syndicalists, another term you will find in Gisbert, stands for a state of the representatives of the workers of industry, industry-wise; labor unions, trade unions type.

If the workers parties' or workers' groups have a say in deciding the policies of the industry, then you have this kind of syndicalists. You know, among the two greatest political leaders of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was democrat, Gandhi was anarchist. Gandhi believed in soul force. Gandhi would say, if you do not like something decided by state, do not follow it; for Gandhi, moral force, or a spiritual force was more important than anything else. If you have to suffer the condition of creation of anarchist state, or anarchist situation would be that, if you listen to your own inner voice and you act in accordance to with your inner voice, use your moral, spiritual force, love, equality, that whole humanity is equal, all are like you, non-exploitative, non-violent society; you have to, for anarchist society, you have to have Gram Swaraj, and gradually, the power will

evolve from Gram to nation, or the country, or the state, Indian nation; not go down from Indian nation to gram, that is anarchist. Nehru was democratic.

So, when I read something from discussion on constitution of India last time, and said that, Nehru had envisioned a state in which everybody will be equal before the law; there will be freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of expressions, freedom to follow any religion; there will be equality of...This is what democracy means. Democracy means the rule of law and the law is developed by the people of, people of the country; people belonging to that state. When people belonging to a state have a rule based on law which has been evolved by the people themselves, then you have a democracy. Now, democracy can be participatory, or democracy can be representative. In city states, and there is a belief that Indian, ancient India is a good example of participatory democracy.

The democracy which was practiced by the (()) people in the area in Bihar, Nepal, Lichuvees; there is a belief that, based on literature, Buddhist literature, Pali, Prakrits, some Sanskrit literature that, the democracy that was practiced in Buddha's time, in that part of the country, was participatory democracy. Everybody was equal and all major decisions were taken through participation of people, great. But the problem with this participatory democracy is that, a modern country like India, with 1.25 billion people cannot have participatory democracy. In all the decisions of the government, all 1.25 billion people cannot participate. So, what we have to do then? We can only assure that, the voices of all social groups, associations, organizations, all interests are properly represented in the government; that is all, that is all we can do.

We can only ensure that much, that the representatives of all parts of India, all castes and communities, all nations...So, there must be representatives of North India, South India; our parliament consists of representatives from all parts of the country. We have representatives from Punjab, from Bengal, from North East, from Kerala, from all parts of the country. We have representatives of all castes and communities, including minorities, including Anglo-Indians; we have some representation of Anglo-Indians also. We have urban, rural constituencies; we have representatives of farmers, (()); we have representatives of industrialists; we have representatives of intellectuals. And, our constitution also permits to represent the people of India through certain artists, or

renowned people of literature and films, (()). We have a representative democracy today.

This is all, I remember that, in this context, some elite stories said that, unfortunately, a society is always governed by a handful of persons, whom you can call elite. Elite are superior to others. They will, there will never be any time, when there will complete equality of power between people; always, elite role will remain; and just what you can ensure is that, there is a government of the people, and the government will work in the, the government will take up such policies, or programs, which are in the interest of the people; welfare programs, irrigation, education, promotion of health, various types of rights, employment rights, food security; government must arrive at policy decisions which go in the favor of the people; that means, government for the people.

Government can be government of the people; government can also be for the people; but government can never be, of the people, by the people, for the people; it can never be by the people; it can only be of the people; it can be for the people, but never by the people; because by the people means, going back to participatory democracy of lichuvees or sarks; the kind of democracy which was practiced in Buddha's kingdom; that is not possible; that is, that is possible only in small city states, or small areas. So, we, we have to rely on representative. There is always a danger that, the representatives of a caste or community or region, may act in their own interest, and not in the interest of the people; and that is what is happening today.

When everyone who comes to power, in the name of different interests, castes, communities, regions, languages, ultimately becomes more interest, more interested in perpetuating his or her own financial, political and social interests, rather than interest of the nation. But there is no alternative. Even in socialist or communist society, there is no guarantee that, the government will actually work in the interest of proletariats. In Russia, people have compared socialism of Russia; there are some sociologists, (()) and I do not want to drop names; some sociologists have compared industrial society of Soviet Russia with industrial society of America and they find that, the degree of economic inequality and the degree of political inequality, hierarchy, in Soviet Russia was much higher than in the market economies like the United States. So, where did communists make mistake, that is one question on which there is again lot of debate in sociology. But this is all we can expect; not more than this.

Now, perspectives on power, I will just mention two perspectives; one, a functional perspective by Talcott Parsons and another, the Marxist's perspective. I am sure that, by now, you already understand the Marxist's perspective. According to Marxist's perspective, a society always consists of some classes; some of them, dominate, exploit, rule, oppress the other classes; masters, slaves; feudal lords, serfs; journey-men, traders. So, masters, or (()), on one side; serfs, slaves, agriculture workers, peasants, small artisans, traders on the other; in industrial society, capitalists and proletariats. And, the state always represents the interest of the powerful classes.

So, according to Marxist theory, power is determined by economic class, or economic power; political power, political power is a function of economic power. And, the political leaders, or the government, or the regime, always represents the interest of the powerful people; that means, affluent classes, economic. Power comes from economic relations, class relations, economic power; always. You may sometimes find that, some capitalists are fighting among themselves for power positions. Marxists will say, do not pay attention to that. Actually, if there is a political leader which is different from industrialists, that is always better for the, for the economic class; because then, the political leader runs the system in the generalized interests of the industrialists or economically powerful people. Marxists are more concerned with socialist structure; they are not concerned with individuals.

So, if we apply Marxist theory to, say Indian state, then Indian state, the leaders of India, they may belong to BJP, or Congress party, or BSP, or Samajvadi party, ultimately all leaders of ruling parties in India represent the interests of bourgeois, or the industrialists, or the Capitalists. For Marxists, it is not important. This question is absurd, whether they represent the interest of Reliance Industries more, or the interest of Birla's more. The politicians, the political class of India works in the generalized interest of the industrialists, or those who own industries, those who own means of production; industrialists and feudal elements; in rural areas, feudal elements, who possess land, and in urban areas, industrialists who possess industry, means of production. So, Marxist theory of power goes in this direction. And, the implication of this theory is that, there has to be a party, a group, which will work in the interest of the working classes; they are called socialists; and eventually, when such party is becoming strong and there is a real

consciousness among the people, the working classes and trade unions, then, the capitalist system is destroyed and a socialist, communist type of government is formed.

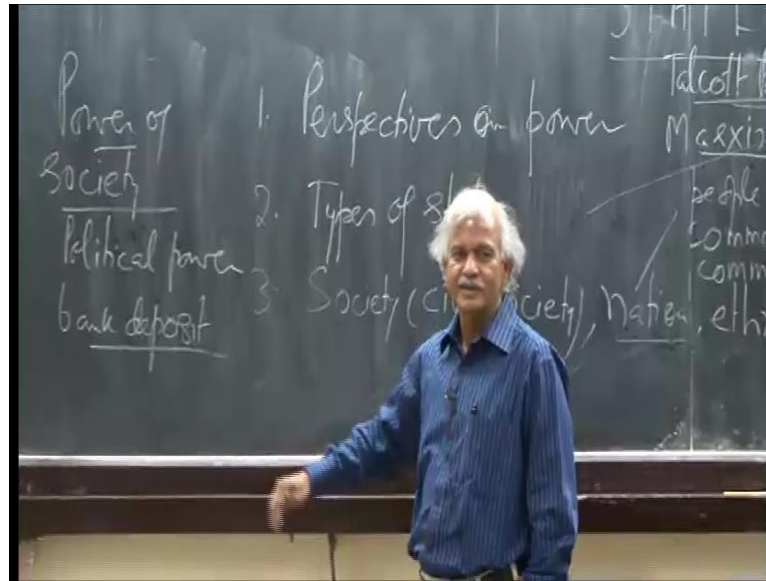
Talcott Parson is one functional sociologist. Sometimes, though lightly only, I say that, the only difference between functionalism and Marxism, if I write this in a sociology exam, I will get zero; I am saying this only for making the subject matter clear to you; if in sociological theory, you use class for society, you become a Marxist.

You write the same answer, if you use the term society, you are a functionalist; if you use the term bourgeois, capitalist or the dominant class, or simply the class, then, you are a Marxist. So, while for Marxists, the state exists to promote the interest of the bourgeois, or the powerful classes, powerful, economically powerful classes of society, in functionalist perspective, like Talcott Parson's, state exists to promote the interests of the whole society. Obviously, those who are managing the society, the government, the government will always be functionalists. Looked at from this perspective, government of a socialist country will also be functionalist; they will say that, exists, the state exists for promotion of interest of the whole society.

So, our Congressmen will say that, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his party, his government, whatever they do, whatever policy decision they take, whatever plan documents they prepare, and finally approve, they do so in the interest of the people of India. All those who claim that, the government is functioning in the interest of the people, or the larger society, they are functionalists and those who say that the government stands for the interest of the powerful, economic classes, they are the Marxists. Actually, this applies to all discussions; sociology of state, sociology of education, sociology of family; if the word society is replaced by class, you become a Marxist; otherwise, you are a functionalist.

So, Talcott Parson says that, actually, there is no zero sum or constant sum game of power; power belongs to society and the power of society can be increased or decreased; state makes an attempt to increase, the power of society, to make society more powerful.

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If, the aims of Indian state are to raise the per capita income of India, modernize defense forces, promote education, vocational education, higher education, create more integration in society, create more justice, have a secular view of society; why, so that, Indian society becomes more powerful, and some day maybe, the most powerful society of the world. Congress party, or any ruling party, any ruling party in India will say this, that, they are using... And, politicians are like our banks; political, political power is equivalent to bank deposits; as we deposit money, our own money; money belongs to us. I have two lakh rupees; I go to State Bank of India, IIT Kanpur branch; deposit there; take a fixed deposit; that is my money; I can withdraw it any time.

So, likewise, in the political power, in the representatives, in political leaders, in state, it is my power; my money; people of India have vested their power, in their state, through their political representatives; so that, the power of the collectivity, power of the entire nation, whole society can be increased; India becomes more powerful than Pakistan. If we have this view that, the state of India, armed forces, elected representatives, bureaucracy of India, judiciary, they are working in the interest of promotion of power of India, then, we take the position of Talcott Parsons. This is one view.

Many of us often take this view. And, if you take the view that, the state of India is working in the interest of the affluent classes, or middle classes, upper middle classes, industrialists, then, we have a Marxist view of power. I have not discussed everything of

the chapter on a state in Gisbert. Now, you can read it. I am sure that, all conceptual issues have been dealt with; actually I, I have given you much more than what is given in Gisbert and reading of Gisbert should not be a difficult thing at all now. You do not have to remember the names; just focus on ideas which are important, in discussion of the state; on state itself we can have one semester course, but because we have to discuss everything on society, so, I will not discuss state anymore. In the next class, I will talk about economic institutions. There is one question please.

Student: Sir, is not Talcott Parsons view very naïve and egalitarian view of the society, because it, it ignores all the...

Conflicts...

Student: Conflicts and contradictory, contradictions of the society, like class and community...

You know, one day, I told you that, sociology can be done from several perspectives; managerial perspective, experts perspective, or sociologists perspective and peoples perspective. In all societies, the managerial perspective is going to be the functional perspective only. Or, Hitler will not say that, he is using power for any purposes other than the promotion of the interest of the Aryan race; Mao will not say and that Mao is using power; Stalin, you know, they killed lakhs of comrades themselves; Lenin, Stalin; Stalin killed more of comrades, not ordinary people; more of his partymen; leftists only, those who worked with Stalin for a long time; Stalin killed lakhs of comrades or communists, and his claim was that he was doing, it is important to do so, so that, the Russian society becomes world's most industrially advanced society, most powerful society.

Stalin could justify his killings of his comrades by saying that, they are competing, they are competing with United States, with market economies and it is their political, (()) and humanitarian duty to crush capitalism and promote the interest of socialism and communism; for this purpose, if, for some time, they have to kill some comrades, because these comrades are asking for revisionist policies, then it is justified. So, governments will always take a functionalist view, and therefore, whether in the name of Talcott Parsons, or by some other name, this kind of idea will always remain. As long as there is government, there will be a view of Talcott Parson type is supposed to do that; it

is suppose to the political power to serve the interest of the society, but like, like you said, in a managerial viewpoint, but a manager is supposed to solve the problem which may come between the, serving the interest of the whole company. So, what are the, what are, what have they suggested to account for contradictions which, you know, because this is a given (()); they are supposed to do that.

So, it is not unreal, and this conflict is not unreal, and this situation will obviously remain, like petroleum prices. Today, a big Bharat Bandh is going on. From the perspective of Congress party, raising of petroleum prices is essential for developing the productive forces in the economy. For those in opposition, rise of petroleum prices simply shows, serving the interest of petroleum companies and not Indian people. So, there is a conflict and conflict is as natural as cooperation. So, in society, both cooperation and conflict will remain. So, both kinds of view point will remain.

Thank you.